"Whereas the Jibaros wear no head-gear in the proper sense of the word, they are in the habit of covering the crown of the head with certain head-ornaments, made partly of the plumes or feathers of certain birds of the forest, partly of monkey skin. Brilliant plumes are loved by all Indians of the Amazon territory, but there are a few tribes that have developed such art in making head-ornaments of this kind as the Jibaros andthe Canelos Indians. Plumes or feathers of the tucan, of different kinds of parrot, especially the big macaw, of the wild turkey (Crax pauji), and of certain small birds of the forest are preferred for this [90] purpose, but the art and taste with which the different colours are combined and the whole ornament made can scarcely be described in detail. This head-ornament is called tawasa by the Jibaros and tawasaimba by the Indians of Canelos. (Pl. XIV). The best and largest of these ornaments, which are especially used at feasts, are greatly valued by the Indians themselves, and this we can easily understand, considering that for the making of one single ornament of this kind the Indian has to shoot several dozens of the very shy tucan or macaw with blowgun and poisoned arrows. --Old warriors and medicine-men generally prefer a head-ornament made of the skin of the black or red monkey.

Slightly different from the tawasa is the head-ornament called tendarma: it consists of a number of plumes or feathers in showy colours attached to a cotton band. This decorative band is wound round a crown plaited of a liana called hapi, the same

liana from which the Jibaros make their most common baskets. The plaited crown itself, apart from the feather-band, is called tindimba.

Of other ornaments of the head, the cylindrical bamboo sticks which the men wear as ear-ornaments are particularly conspicuous. They are often of considerable length, 15 to 25 cm., and about 1 cm. in diameter, passing horizontally through the lobe of the ear and protruding in front. The ends of the sticks are ornamented with certain incised figures of the kind customary in the ornamental art of the Jibaros and frequently, besides this, red and yellow tucan feathers are stuck into them. These ear-tubes are called aruśa: they are not merely decorations but have a magical significance. The women wear ear-sticks of the same kind, only much smaller. In addition to these, the women have a smaller stick inserted in the lower lip, which is perforated for the purpose. This stick is called tukunu: it is 6 to 10 cm. in length and about 1/2 cm. in diameter and, like the aruśa of the men, this female ornament has the protruding end decorated with incised figures. --Whereas the women wear no tawaśe for the head, they have, on festival occasions, the crown of the head decorated with a simple circular cotton band, without feathers, which are hardly ever worn by the female sex. This cotton band is called tiringsa."

2: Stirling--100-102 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 562

"Three principal types of feather crown are worn by Jivaro men. One called 'taguaza' consists of a disk-like brim formed by lashing together with cotton thread several concentric hoops of rattan. The outer circumference is decorated with bright-colored feathers, usually the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan, and with green beetle wings (pl. 32). Another showy crown consists of a woven hoop of vegetable fiber which fits the head and to which are thickly attacked the red and yellow breast feathers of the toucan (pls. 4, a; 5, a). The third type of crown consists of a band of monkey skin [102] with the black fur attached, about 2 inches high, worn as a hoop about the head. Women do not wear feather crowns of this nature."

2: Stirling--102-103 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 292, 778

"Jivaro men also wear a girdle made from human hair called 'indashi acacho.' Tufts of human hair taken from the head of a courageous Jivaro who has died are attached by means of a resinous gum to a woven cotton tape. These girdles are supposed to possess magical power which transmits to the wearer some of the qualities of the orig-[103]inal owner of the hair. The manufacture of them involves definite taboos and practices on this account. While at work on the girdle the maker accounts the most noteworthy feats accomplished by the original owner of the hair and upon completing his task he holds a small feast, during which he dances while wearing the girdle and sings songs calculated to give him additional strength and courage."

12: Rivet--363-365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

The festive clothing of the Jíbaro is as complicated as the daily costume is simple. I have been able to procure for myself the complete ceremonial ornaments of a chief called Yumala, the names and exact descriptions of which follow.

The crows are three in number.

Tauas or taguaza (fig. 7-11) a flat circlet, somewhat like [365] the brim of a hat without a crown. The circlet is formed by a series of concentric circles made of vegetable fibers joined together by cotton threads. A band of feathers adorns the circumference, the upper side is covered with the plumage of birds (callistes [JP: humming-birds] of various kinds), and from the lower side hang small ornaments made of feathers, of various seeds and of the eletra of coleoptera (Euchroma gigantea, Linnaeus).

Tendema (fig. 8-6). Crown of cylindrical form, 6 cent. high, formed of a fabric of hard and resistant fibres covered on the outside with breasts and stomachs of Rhamphastides [JP: toucans] in red, white and yellow feathers. Diameter: 19 cent.

There is also a third kind of crown made of a fine, furry monkey-skin.

12: Rivet--365 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 292, 301

Scoanga (fig. 7-9). A small band of cotton, 1 1/2 cent. wide and 46 cent. long, having at its extremities a cluster of brilliant feathers and four very long tassels of hair; it is twisted around the back plait in such a manner that the feathers form a kind of pompon at the base of the plait.

Tayucunchi (tayo: kind of bird, cunchi: bone) (fig. 7-10). A magnificent ornament 1^{m} 15 long and 18 cent. wide, composed essentially of a fabric made from the femurs of a bird called tayo (Nyctidromus?) juxtaposed in transverse rows. On the specimen that I possess I have counted 240 femurs aligned in 7 bands placed one above the other; 140 [JP: sic] birds have therefore been employed in the making. The bones are strung on cotton threads. Each row is separated from the neighboring one by a narrower row of small brownish seeds. On this unusual woof of ivory whiteness callistes [translation: humming-birds] in iridescent colors are placed, while from the lower extremity hang eleven superb toucan feathers and some eletra of Euchroma. This elegant ornament is worn on the back, suspended from the head by a little band of cotton which encircles it and which is itself covered laterally with skins of Rhamphastides and bears in front, at the place corresponding to the forehead, a beautiful bird crest with bluish black reflections.

Unduchi (fig. 7-20). Band of coffee-colored cotton like the itipi, measuring 60 cent. long, which is worn about the waist and which has a series of pendants 20 cent. long, of Coix lacryma seeds, terminated by big fragments of gastropod shells, cut in curvilinear triangles, which on striking together give a crystalline sound of little bells.

Acachula (fig. 7-8). Girdle formed of small plaits of human hair, juxtaposed and joined only in the middle and at their extremities by a cotton thread. One of the two specimens that I possess contains 75 and each one of them measures 1^{m} 50 long.

Maco (fig. 7-17). Ornament made of seeds of a forest tree that has not been determined, similar in form to a peach stone, and suspended from a common cord. When they are moved, they make a dry sound like castanets. They are worn either around the loins or at the knee for the dance.

Such are their many objects of ornamentation in which elegance equals originality. For the most part, they are common to both sexes, but used more by men than women. In Jíbaro country, the woman, considered as a slave without wishes or desires, knows nothing of elegance; the brave and strong male has preserved all his primitive privileges, and his omnipotence is more exaggerated by the isolation in which the various divisions of each tribe live.

26: Brüning--62 (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

The festive ornaments of the Indians are the following: the long hair is tied in the back with a band, to the ends of which are attacked colorful feathers and entire bird skins or bundles of feathers with long human hair. One type of band is woven, 13 mm. wide and, taken doubled, 44 cm. long. At both ends of the doubled band there are 28 strings. On each one of these strings there are on top three black fruit seeds, then a thin bird bone (85 mm. long), again two seeds, another bone, and two more fruit seeds. At each one of the ends of the strings there is a bird skin, most of them from the tukan, only one from a wood-pecker-type of bird. At one end there are the wings of various beetles, such as are also used for ear decoration. The bird skins are tied to the strings with the beaks. The skull has been removed, and the legs are likewise missing. The skins are stuffed with vegetarian wool.

The second type is a plaited string (width: 3 mm.), 218 cm. long. With the help of resin a bundle of human hair and two bundles of yellow and red tukan feathers are tied to each end of this string.

26: Brüning--62 [2] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292

Another type of headdress has wide woven bands with long loose strings. These are worn wound round the head.

a) has a width of 62 mm. and a length of 49 cm. The ends of the warp, projecting on either side, are twisted into strings that have a length of 50 cm. each. Two of these strings are used to tie the band together so that it can be placed around the head. The other strings are allowed to hang loosely over the back. To one of these strings a small bundle of yellow and blue feathers is attached. The part of the band which runs over the forehead is decorated with a polished shell and with a bundle of yellow and red tukan feathers.

b) is a band that has a width of 53 mm. and a length of 43 cm. The strings at both ends are twisted and have a length of 49 cm.

c) is 62 mm. wide and 44 cm. long. The strings have a length of 45 cm.

Three colors occur in all three of these bands: white and two shades of brown.

26: Brüning--62 [3]
116, 292

(1902) 1928

Jívaro

Another head decoration consists of a ring (hoop or circlet) which is made out of spirally split bamboo or a liana (the whites call it támši). Two such rings are placed one on top of the other, and they are connected with braided strings. Between the two circlets are alternately placed red and yellow tukan feathers. This head decoration is called tawáš (cf. Illustration 4, the fourth warrior from the left). The tawáš has a diameter of 17 cm.

Another head-circlet consists of plaited támši (width: 6 cm.) which is covered with the fur of a monkey's tail. This fur is brown and black in the middle. At one of the edges there hangs a bird skin. This head decoration is called atsehókta (cf. Illustration 4, second warrior from the left.)

Moreover, I have seen another circlet formed of ball shaped flowers (similar to our clover blossoms, yet smaller). See Illustration 4, third warrior from the left.

26: Brüning--70 [5] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 292, 562

Married women are distinguished by a narrow band which they wear over the muscle of the upper arm. I failed to indicate in my notes whether it is the right or the left arm. Since this band (patáko) is placed over the arm of very young persons and since it may not be removed, as time goes on the flesh grows over it and sometimes covers it. A widow in Huavico took off her band in my presence and dedicated it to me: it is 12 mm. wide and 21 cm. long.

28: Tessman--344-347 (No date) 1930 Jivaro-1
116, 292, 301, 463, 287

"There are no hats, but they have a head decoration (táwas) made of fur of feathers. One of the chief skills of the men is the art of arranging feather ornaments and ornaments made of other materials. The head ornaments are the most important ones. There is a great variety of such ornaments and they serve a variety of functions, some being used for feasts others for warlike expeditions. A festive head ornament is the wide band made of yellow and red toucan feathers. These feathers are used also on other decorations. The toucan band is simply placed around the forehead and tied in the back. Most of the head ornaments are war decorations. There are headbands (or, rather, circlets) and caps which cover the entire head. There are circlets that are open at the crown of the head, a fact which, on account of the trappings, is not apparent until one analyzes the ornament. One of the circlets is especially peculiar: it consists of liana stripe that are concentrically arranged but leaving space between them. They are placed around the head like the brim of a crownless hat or like a 'halo'. On the outside the circlets are decorated and therefore widened by means of feathers or seeds (for instance Chrysophyllum). I call head crowns head decorations that are placed on the head like a crown. They consist of fur strips which stay stiff by themselves; other ornaments, such as bird skins, are frequently attached. In most instances they use the fur of monkeys or the tiger cat. But the essential part of this head ornament is a broad ring (or circlet) which

is often rather crudely plaited; on the outside it is covered with strips of fur or bird skin, sometimes with actual bird wings, which follow closely the shape of the circlet or project upward at the sides. In many instances bird skins dangle from the edges. I thought that many of these head ornaments were funny-looking, [347] reminding me very much of the tastelessly trimmed up ladies' hats of a bygone fashion era... The funny impression is heightened by the feminine facial features and the feminine hairdo of the Indians. I also saw fur caps, which were nothing but skins that were pulled over the head. The head of the animal was in front; it was slightly stuffed, and the eyes of the animal were replaced with red Erythrina fruits (huairuru L.). Bird skins, too, were prepared in this manner. The trumpeter bird, for instance. In the case of other fur caps the fur had been pulled over a plaited ring or over a base plaited in hexagonal meshes. It surprized me that the natives used monkey fur almost exclusively. I noticed the use of the fur of the Pithecia (tocón L.), of the Saimiri and of the nocturnal monkey."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipī*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*taračī*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

home-woven kilts wear the newer of the pair. Less frequently, a man also possesses a pair of trousers for special wear (see Plate 16). A few women, who have obtained machine-manufactured cloth, make their own "party dresses." Sometimes a man has an Achuara-made kilt, which he saves for visiting.

Families lacking woven cloth make kilts and dresses from bark cloth. Such clothing is much inferior in durability, and is considered an indication of family indolence and weakness.

Nuŋuí

Agricultural subsistence, especially, is connected with a system of belief which surrounds an "earth mother" named Nuŋuí. Whether Nuŋuí is best viewed as a class of crop fairies or as a goddess appears to be a difficult matter to decide.[3] On the one hand, the Jívaro usually speak of Nuŋuí in the singular, but they deny that there is just one, saying that there are "many," although all are identical in their attributes. For convenience, Nuŋuí will be referred to here in the singular.

Nuŋuí, it is believed, is responsible for pushing the crops up through the ground, i.e., for their growth. Without her help, a woman cannot expect to be successful as a gardener and, therefore, engages in various practices to attract Nuŋuí to the garden, and to keep her there. Such practices are based upon a knowledge of Nuŋuí's two main demands from the Jívaro: to be given a place to dance and to be provided with "babies."

It is believed that Nuŋuí, who is about three feet high, very fat, and dressed in a black *taračī*, according to those who have seen her in dreams and hallucinogen-induced visions,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally
[825] undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into
• 292 adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to
301 wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jívaro men, con-
[237] sisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan
[721] feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a
884 human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a
[721] round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedi-
[582] tion. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

881 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty
884 celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and
[824] pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days.
276 The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration
[787]

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untä*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[3]

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his.

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece).